

A PLAN
FOR THE
MILITARY SEIZURE AND OCCUPATION
OF THE
TEMPLE AND CITY OF MECCA,
AS A DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE MEASURE FOR THE
WAR IN ASIA.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF REMARKS.

LONDON:
CHARLES WESTERTON,
20, ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, GIDE PARK CORNER;
AND
EDWARD STANFORD,
6, CHARING CROSS.

1858.

One Shilling.

Military,

1077

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P R E F A C E.

THE plan that was submitted on the 12th of October, 1857, to Lord Palmerston, to occupy Mecca, on a theory of probable events, may at this moment be actually realized. On the 15th of June last, the inhabitants of Jeddah, the sea-port of Mecca, suddenly arose with fanatical fury against the Christians in that city and massacred them without mercy. The British and French Consulates were attacked, and the Consuls murdered and cut to pieces, and their national flags were torn down from their poles and trampled under foot with every gesture of hatred and contempt.

This great wrong and outrageous insult offered to the two most powerful Christian nations in the world is extremely significant. The recklessness and cruelty of the assault prove the ignorance and weakness of the aggressors, and show Christians that Mahomedans are ready to brave all consequences. A grave blunder will be committed if the English and French Governments consent to leave in the hands of Mahomedans the infliction of the just punishment of the criminals. They will thus abdicate their vantage ground, and indirectly acknowledge the supremacy of the Mahomedan power over Christian power.

London,

July 31st, 1858.

Brompton, S.W.,

12th October, 1857.

My Lord Palmerston,

I have the honour to hand herewith a paper descriptive of a plan for the military seizure and occupation of the temple and city of Mecca, the centre of Mahomedanism, as an offensive and defensive measure in the war in India.

Like every other individual in this country, I feel the deepest interest in the events that are at present taking place in India; and I tender no excuse for this intrusion upon your Lordship, as I consider it almost a duty to lay before you the ideas that have occurred to me on the subject, treated in the accompanying paper.

Affairs may not yet be ripe for the execution of the plan suggested, but the course of events may shortly lead to some decisive measures.

In a crisis so terrible and so heart-crushing as the present one in India, an humble individual has no channel of communication with the government but by a direct appeal to your Lordship, as the highest authority under Her Majesty; and in the anxiety of the moment, I beg leave to express these my convictions.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and faithful Servant,

JAS. J. MACINTYRE.

To the

Right Honourable VISCOUNT PALMERSTON,

First Lord of the Treasury

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A PLAN FOR THE MILITARY SEIZURE
AND OCCUPATION OF THE TEMPLE
AND CITY OF MECCA, AS A DE-
FENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE MEASURE
FOR THE WAR IN INDIA.

THE religion and the military political power of the British nation are all of a sudden ferociously attacked by a combination of idolaters and heathen people, whose inhuman temple practices and obscene rites partake of the nature of the demon worship of the ancient Canaanites, and of the crimes of the cities of the plain. The Christian British power is on the defensive against the assaults of the followers of Mahomed, and the worshippers of Brahma. Christian civilization is thus assailed by the united powers of the grossest systems of idolatry and barbarism, and upon Great Britain devolves the honour of the front of danger in meeting the onslaught of these terrible foes. The conflict now going on in India cannot, therefore, be regarded as a mere war between a European nation and revolted provinces previously conquered by that nation, but it must be considered as the beginning of a struggle between good and evil, for ascendancy

over the most important region of the world, and which must be continued until one of those powers shall completely subjugate and crush the other. Christianity represented by the British power in India, is attacked by Mahomedanism and Hindooism, and every nation in Europe has thus an interest in the issue. As we are placed we cannot now recede, and we cannot henceforth enter into compromise with the enemy that we now confront in India. We do not here inquire into the remote or immediate cause which produced this outbreak and general insurrection in Bengal. Afterwards, when the victory shall be won by this country, and a system formed for the future government of India, an investigation may be entered into. What we have to do is with the present and future operations. It appears to be established by the proclamations of the Mahomedan Chiefs, by the sayings and by the war cries of the soldiers in battle, that the struggle is a religious war, and the ruthless maxim of Mahomedanism—of conversion or the sword—is openly declared. The Mahomedans, in their greater energy and union, are the leaders in this war, and they overawe the Hindoos to acquiesce in their measures. It is a religious war into which the British nation is now plunged, and it is compelled to throw aside the vacillation, the unworthy compromise, and the adherence to mere expediency which have hitherto been practised by the government of India. The British people must now declare that the Lord

is their God, and honourably and courageously maintain the cause of Christ against all comers and all heathen foes. The war in India is the revival of the mediæval crusades, but with this difference, that instead of all European Christian nations being the assailants of the Mahomedan powers, one Christian nation is attacked in Asia, and must by its single arm crush the infidels. In this point of view, the war is a crusade, and the enemies of the Cross have already given a character of relentless cruelty to their attacks, ending in the extermination of the vanquished. Christianity and civilization are thus challenged by its heathen foes to the combat, and Great Britain cannot now sheath the sword until she hath subdued the idolaters. This nation has long unfurled the sign of the Cross as its standard in war, and it is now called to uprear it in battle against its hereditary enemy, the Crescent of Mahomed. The conflict will be continued to final victory. The nature of the operations cannot be anticipated. Appalling incidents will call for extraordinary measures, and as massacres are committed by the barbarous idolaters, the Christian warriors must adapt their tactics to the occasions which arise, and be prepared to assail their rancorous foes in front and rear, and have recourse to direct and indirect systems of attack. Mahomedanism is a centralized power, having a local habitation considered sacred, inapproachable, and

founder in direct antagonism to Christianity, and in India, in its attack at the present time, it displays the same destructive principles, and the same energy of action, as it has manifested in all ages from the time of Mahomed. A war with Mahomedans, from the very nature of things, must be one of extirpation, and it descends from generation to generation. Regrets have been expressed that the British government of India did not sooner take strong measures to put down the mutinies, as they appeared in particular regiments, and it is supposed that the insurrection would have been at once arrested and crushed. But though the losses of British men, women, and children, have been agonizing, it is better that the worst has happened, and that the world now witnesses the weakness and inconsistency of the system heretofore acted on by that government, in its management of the native military power. The system hitherto pursued by the government of India has led to the present disasters. We have now discovered the worst that the Mahomedans and Hindoos can do against us, and ascertained the secret of future operations. We must act differently in almost all things than in the past. With respect to the promulgation of the Christian religion, and its establishment in India, "it is plain that at the price we are now actually paying, we might have pushed on the work of religious conversion as rudely as we please. If every

been a Duke of Alva, we could not have been assailed with a more terrible eruption of treachery, ferocity, and fanaticism. We have been labouring to pacify an invisible but dreaded monster, by obsequious concessions and studious deference, and we find on a sudden that, in spite of our policy, we are exposed to its most violent attacks. By assuming for the future a firmer attitude, we may probably do better, and can certainly not do worse."—*Leading Article, "Times," Oct. 2, 1857.*

The Mahomedans in their ferocity, cruelty, and fanaticism, have given the vantage ground to the British government; and God, in His providence, has opened the way to it, of striking a blow which may level in the dust the stronghold of the execrable superstition of Mahomed. The British government has in its power to seize the very citadel temple of Mahomedanism; but this daring enterprise can only be accomplished by a moral courage, raised to the level of the vast importance of the object, and sustained by holy motives for the honour of God, and the welfare of man. It is an enterprise almost unique in the affairs of the world, and international laws and diplomatic customs must give place, or be infringed by the operation.

The plan is to seize, by a blow of the hand, the temple and city of Mecca, and hold them for a time in trust for the peace and benefit of Christendom. In submitting a scheme of so much novelty and apparent daring, I am called on to state my

arguments in support of it. First, it may be said, with what justice could the British government invade and occupy the city of a people with whom we have no quarrel, and of whom we scarcely know anything but the name? But as we are suddenly and treacherously attacked by the Mahomedans in India on religious grounds, by the laws of war we may adopt measures of retaliation against the head and centre of Mahomedanism. All over the world Mahomedanism is part and parcel of one system, and there is sympathy between its members, which leads them to support and aid each other in wars with Christians and other sects. The Mahomedan princes of India formerly, and perhaps yet, have paid tribute or contributions to Mecca; and now, when in conflict with a Christian power, can we doubt of the Mahomedans of that country receiving assistance in money, from the treasury of Mecca? Our ally, the Grand Sultan, is bound by the law of the Koran to assist his religionists in India in their struggles with the British power, notwithstanding his enrolment as a knight in the Christian Order of the Garter; and notwithstanding his donation of £1000 to the fund for relief of the Christian sufferers. The proclamation by the woman and child-killer, Nena Sahib, published at Cawnpore, proves, by its phraseology, that there exists among Mahomedans the sentiment, if not the practice, of mutual aid in their wars; but he mendaciously announced, that the Sultan had issued

a firman to the Governor of Egypt to attack and slay English troops passing through the country ; and he makes the Sultan say, " You must deceive the Queen Victoria, for this is not the time for friendship." In a case of this kind, I apprehend there would be no difficulty in discovering a case for war, in an attack on the head and centre of the Mahomedan power in the world. Apart from the complicity between the head and members of the Mahomedan power, there is a strong state or national necessity for the occupation of Mecca by the British, as a means of defence in the war now going on in India. The defence would consist in the loss of influence by the Mahomedan priesthood over the minds of their vassals. In what does this mysterious influence consist, or of what is it composed ?

Of all localities on the surface of the globe, the spot indicated by the Caaba and temple of Mecca is one of the most sacred, and in the minds of the followers and believers of Mahomed is associated with the most remarkable traditions. The traditions, indeed, belong to the history of the human race, and they point to the place and time of Adam's sojournment, to the House of Abraham, and Hagar, and Ishmael, and to many incidents of the great ancestors of the race. For ages before the birth of Mahomed the temple of Mecca was a place of worship, held in great veneration by the Arabian tribes ; and the sand of the desert was beaten smooth by the pilgrimages from

the surrounding regions. Mahomed turned to his own account the sacredness that belonged to the spot, and connected his name with the name of Abraham, in appointing the holy house of Mecca to be a place of resort for mankind. (Koran, chap. ii.) Medina was the birth-place of Mahomed; but it was in Mecca where his religion was finally established. It was there that it was recorded that more than 80 out of the 144 chapters of the Koran were revealed to Mahomed; and the era of the Mahomedan religion dates from his flight from Mecca to Medina in the year A.D. 622. A pilgrimage to Mecca is enjoined on all true believers; and the title of "Pilgrim" attached to a man's name is the most honourable distinction that can be borne. The temple is considered sacred or inviolable to such a degree, that it is not even lawful to attack an enemy within a compass around it. Mecca to the Mahomedans is emphatically the holy city, and the ceremonies and rites to be performed on visiting the Caaba show the peculiar sanctity attached to the place.

As respects the destiny of Mecca, Sale, the translator of the Koran, asserts, that there is a prophecy, by tradition, from Mahomed, that in the last time the Ethiopians shall come and utterly demolish the temple and city. What would be the consequence of the sudden capture of Mecca by the British forces? It is probable that awe and terror would overpower the minds and crush the spirits of Mahomedans all over the world; or else an incon-

trollable fury of fanaticism would at first possess them, wherever they had the power to do mischief. This is the most serious part of the business, as Christians would be exposed, for a time, to the Nena Sahibs in Mahomedan countries. But notice might previously be given and measures taken to secure their safety. But it is probable that the blow struck at Mecca would stun the Mahomedan mind and paralyze for ever its spirit. Fatalism is one of the stern doctrines of the Koran. A belief in the absolute predestination of events is commanded there, and neither individuals nor nations can escape from the decrees of fate, of good and evil. Of the individual it is said, "the fate of every man have we bound about his neck." (Koran, chap. xvii.) Of the nation it is recorded, "unto every nation is a fixed period decreed; when their term therefore is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall their punishment be anticipated." "No nation shall be punished before their time shall be come: neither shall they be respited after." It is a significant fact, that the present insurrection in India has broken out with the belief among the Mahomedans of the fulfilment of the predestined rule of 100 years of the English there, and it has been said, that there exists a vague apprehension in the Mahomedan service, that the cycle of the Mahomedan empire is running out about this time.

Now, with respect to the Indian revolt, we shall soon show to the mutineers their error of computa-

tion, and we may proclaim the announcements of the Koran realized in the British military assault on the holy city. At this present moment, men of the firmest nerves are waiting with the most painful anxiety for the issue of the siege of Lucknow, wherein are beleaguered so many helpless women and children, with men of civil appointments. Should the worst happen — should Nena Sahib again imbrue his hands in the blood of Christian women and children, the spirit of this nation will be roused by grief and rage to the highest pitch by this Mahomedan insult and outrage, and then will be the fit time for seizing and levelling to the ground the temple and Caaba of Mecca, and carrying away as trophies the sacred black and white stones which have been always regarded as the palladia of the Mahomedan spiritual power. By this action, the spell of Mahomedan influence would be at once broken and dissolved, and the world would applaud a deed performed in retaliation for acts of cruelty and ferocity done in the name of the Prophet. In intimating to foreign governments the determination to occupy the city, an assurance might be given that it would not be meant as a measure of aggrandizement, or permanent possession, but as one of stern self-defence and state necessity; and in order to remove the impression of any selfish or avaricious objects to be gained, it would be well to preserve the strictest discipline in the troops engaged, and to abstain from plunder of the gold and silver vessels and orna-

ments of the temple, and only to dismantle the temple and seize the black and white stones of the Caaba.

With respect to the relation that exists between Turkey and Arabia, we can only state, that on the map of Turkey in Asia, the country of Arabia is not inscribed, nor is it attached to the political map of Egypt, so that the invasion of Mecca would not be on Turkish territory, although it might rouse the indignation, or overawe the spirit of the government and people of Turkey and Egypt.

In submitting for consideration the plan of seizing and occupying, for a time, Mecca, the mysterious centre and head of the Mahomedan religious system, the projector is consoled with the reflection, that the military expedition would, in every probability, be attended with comparatively small risk to the troops engaged, and with the casualties incident to all military enterprises, success would be easy and complete. The port of Jeddah would form the base of the operations, and as the city of Mecca is distant from the coast only about fifty English miles, the communication could be easily kept open, and supplies of provisions, even to water, could be forwarded to the troops. A stratagem might be employed, perhaps with some effect, in the despatch of the squadron with the troops on board. The vessels might assemble in a convenient port or bay off the coast of Africa, and take their departure from it as from Ethiopia, and thus realize the Mahomedan prophecy of the destruction of the holy city. A brigade of three or four thou-

sand men, with artillery, would suffice for the capture of the city. The duration of its occupation would depend altogether on circumstances which it is impossible to foresee or describe. The possession of Aden and the island of Perim would enable the military power to muster the troops and to have all the arrangements made so as to despatch the expedition in complete order for disembarking, after the short voyage to Jeddah, and proceed to take Mecca and its temple. Mecca being two degrees and a half within the tropic of Cancer, is exposed, in the summer, to a very high temperature, but the troops employed would, of course, be previously seasoned to such a climate. Let the ~~the~~ object and aim of this novel enterprise be kept in view in coming to a decision on its adoption or rejection. The English nation has been taken by surprise, and it finds itself suddenly involved in a very dangerous defensive war with enemies, mostly of the Mahomedan faith, who at present, in overwhelming numbers, and with fanatical ferocity, are committing cruelties unknown to modern warfare ; the declared object is to destroy, if possible, all the Christians in India, and seize the government of that country. The strongest and the most desperate measures must be adopted by the Christian British power to defend itself and preserve its dominion from the infidels ; and hence the suggested plan of assailing the centre of the Mahomedan religion, and by its overthrow, striking with terror and overawing the minds of the whole population of India.

This being effected, the existing generation would be struck powerless, and would, at once, bend the neck to the British, who, over the succeeding generations, would exercise an influence which nothing could overturn, if the British rulers be only true to their own faith, and true to themselves. It is difficult to realize the conception of the seizure of Mecca by the military forces of Great Britain, as the very idea startles the imagination. Common-place objections to it arise from prudential considerations, for it may be asked, Why attack a distant stronghold of Mahomedanism, and rouse the enmity of that sect all over the world, in order to put down a local revolt in India? But it must be remembered, that in all false religions, as recorded in history, the destruction of the great temple or hotbed of the superstition annihilates the influence and sway of that religion, probably not all at once, but sure to do so in a given time. False religion is earthly and material, and is associated with places and persons. Seize the places and disperse the persons, and the strength of the system is lost. In modern history, the destruction by the Spaniards of the temples of Mexico and Cusco, immediately led to the ruin of the priestly influence. The seizure of Mecca by the British would excite, for a period, among all nations and peoples, surprise, astonishment, and admiration. But Christendom would rejoice and be glad at the great exploit, which would form a new era in the history of the world. The race of mankind is

at present looking for some mighty coming want. People hold their breath, as it were in waiting for a great change. Diplomacy has lost its hold over the destiny of nations, and national treaties and engagements during the last forty years are now waste paper.

The government of Great Britain last year acknowledged, by a solemn treaty with Turkey, the independent existence of Mahomedanism, as promulgated in the Koran, and the British authority is at present, in India, ferociously assaulted by Mahomedans, who, in their demoniacal fury, ravage, torture, and cut in pieces British women and children. What is the meaning of this, and what is to be the consummation of a state of affairs so suddenly produced, and so appalling? Could the occupation of Mecca by the British forces be more unnatural or more astounding than the possession of Jerusalem by the Mahomedan Turks?

The Queen of Great Britain has, like a Christian woman, enjoined a day for a solemn fast and humiliation before God, and for confession of the national sins, for which the nation is now* enduring the chastening of the Almighty, and she prays, that "those who are now the slaves of a hateful and cruel superstition, be brought to lay aside their vain traditions, and turn to Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. Amen, and Amen."

J. J. M.

London, 12th October, 1857.

Brompton, S.W.,
13th July, 1858.

My Lord Palmerston,

On the 12th October, 1857, I wrote to your Lordship a letter, accompanied by a document of considerable length, entitled "*Suggestion of a Plan for the Military Seizure and Occupation of the Temple and City of MECCA, as a Defensive and Offensive measure for the War in India.*"

We have been for a long time in a perfectly false position towards the Mahomedan Turks, and our efforts to prop up the rotten and execrable system will involve this nation in disgrace and danger. The event has now happened which will compel the government to act out the plan I submitted to your Lordship on the 12th October last. What has happened at Jeddah does not surprise me, and is in keeping with the ferocity of Mahomedans against Christians. I beg that you will read over that paper I sent to you, as it contains my views; and it may suggest details for military operations against the head and centre of Mahomedanism.

As your Lordship is now free from the heavy responsibility of government, I beg leave to ask you to forward my elaborate paper to your successor in office, to whom I will communicate the

request that I now make of your Lordship ; and I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

JAS. J. MACINTYRE.

To the

Right Honourable LORD PALMERSTON,
&c., &c., &c., London.

94, Piccadilly,
13th July, 1858.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day, requesting me to transmit to Lord Derby the paper which you say you sent me in October last, proposing an occupation of Mecca ; and in reply I have to say, that I do not, at this moment, know what has become of the paper in question ; and that, however elaborately the arguments it contains may be stated, I cannot suppose that the present government would be more inclined than the last was to carry your plan into execution.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

PALMERSTON.

J. MACINTYRE, Esq.

Brompton, S.W.,

London, 17th July, 1858.

My Lord Derby,

With reference to the letter of the 13th instant, which I wrote to your Lordship, I give the following extract from a letter which I received on that date from Lord Palmerston :—

“ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day, requesting me to transmit to Lord Derby the paper which you say you sent me in October last, proposing an occupation of Mecca ; and in reply I have to say, that I do not, at this moment, know what is become of the paper in question ; and that, however elaborately the arguments it contains may be stated, I cannot suppose that the present government would be more inclined than the last was to carry your plan into execution.”

There is a want of precision in the language employed by his Lordship. He first attempts to doubt the fact of the receipt of my document, by using the expression—“ You say you sent ;” and then alludes to the elaborate arguments that the paper contains, showing that he had received and even read it ! But let this pass.

I now beg leave to hand to your Lordship the original draft of my own manuscript, a fair and legible copy of which I forwarded to my Lord Palmerston, in a letter dated the 12th October, 1857.

The massacre of the British and French consuls and their families, and the cruel slaughter of Christians in Jeddah, the seaport of Mecca, is the event which, under the over-ruling providence of God, will, in all human probability, lead to the realization of the scheme for the seizure and occupation of the centre and stronghold of Mahomedanism. It is a heavy responsibility on an obscure individual to suggest and recommend any plan which may lead to the shedding of human blood. But what is he to do in a case like this, of ruthless slaughter of Christians, by the ferocious followers of Mahomed, and which is only the beginning of a system of massacre wherever Mahomedans have the power! The blood is already shed, and the nation is on the defensive. When I wrote my paper on the 12th October last, I felt an impulse, and I was under a presentiment of the approaching day and hour of terrible retribution. This nation is now confronted with appalling circumstances of danger, but its courage and decision must rise to the level of the great occasion. There is yet time to strike the blow. The French government will, of course, feel as acutely as ourselves, the insult and wrong at Jeddah; and will be eager to be in advance of us. And if any faltering be on our part, the French will glory in the enterprise of being the first to seize and take possession of Mecca. Events are now rushing on to a great crisis. Our naval force in the Red Sea

the population of Mecca appear to be roused and clamorous for Christian blood, it will be merely a measure of self-defence on our part to silence the Meccans, by occupying their city. One step in advance demands another, for to stand still may be attended with ruin.

I have the honour to remain
Your Lordship's very obedient Servant,
JAS. J. MACINTYRE.

To the
Right Honourable The EARL OF DERBY,
Prime Minister, &c., &c., &c.

Downing Street,
July 30th, 1858.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 13th and 17th inst. His Lordship cannot concur in the plan which you propose in the former letter.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,
W. P. TALBOT.

J. J. MACINTYRE, Esq. •

APPENDIX A.

REMARKS ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE BRITISH NATION AND ITS ASIATIC DEPENDENCIES, IN RELATION TO THE MAHOMEDAN RACES, AND IN REFERENCE TO THE ALLIANCE WITH THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

Few people like to talk on the subject of our connection with the Turkish Mahomedan empire, the independence of which is now guaranteed by this country and France. People either evade the topic by curt expressions, or with bated breath they speak as if conscious of some great national offence having been committed, about which the least that is said the better. People cannot lose sight of the social condition of the Mahomedan Turks, nor can they forget the traditions of the dark mysteries of the harem, of the eunuchs, the bowstring, the scimitar, and of the midnight plunge into the river of some victim enclosed in the sack. The treatment of women, shut up as slaves and objects of lust, of itself turns from the Mahomedans the sympathies of Christian people, and keeps them without the pale of civilized social intercourse. In another century it will strike the population of Europe with amazement, that the finest countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea were permitted by the greatest nations of the world to be under the power and dominion of Mahomedans, composed of mixed and very inferior races, down to the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is one thing to tolerate the existence of such powers in occupation of the most interesting countries,—the seats of ancient

thing to treat with them nationally and secure and perpetuate their independence under solemn guarantee of Christian nations. Some great political necessity, or supposed necessity, can only justify the existence of such a state of affairs. In the public press, both of this country and of the Continent, the question of this extraordinary anomaly is more frequently and prominently brought under discussion, and, to borrow the expressive figure of speech used by the late Emperor Nicholas of Russia to the English ambassador in a secret conference, this Turkish Mahomedan empire is described as a sick and dying man, about the disposal of whose possessions it is now time to make arrangements. This is the idea that now fills the minds of thoughtful men, and is assuming more and more the consistency of a formed conception which will speedily take a substantial and practical bearing on the policy of the European nations. The Turkish empire in Western Asia, in the south of Europe, in Egypt, in the islands of the Mediterranean, in Arabia, in Palestine, is a weak and shattered body, without a ruling spirit. There is no feeling of nationality among its tribes and races, and the only bond of union is the law of the Koran; and the only animation displayed, is in the oppression and murder of Christians as far as the Mahomedans can reach forth their swords with impunity. The present Sultan, Abdul Medjid, is a man given to pleasure, and exhausts the public treasures on his palaces and gardens. When the loan was made in London and Paris for the Turkish government, under the guarantee of England and France, commissioners were sent to Constantinople to see that the money was applied to its proper objects, and to prevent it from being pillaged by men high in power. The whole Mahomedan system in Turkey is corrupt and rotten to the core, and were it not for the support of the great Christian nations of Europe, it would fall in pieces from its own unsoundness. The mere passive posture of England and France would of itself produce its dismemberment and ruin. Hence the heavy responsibility of the two great powers of Western Europe.

In all treaties and negotiations by Christian governments

with the Mahomedans political questions are religious questions, because their civil and political laws are taken from the Koran; and the precepts and laws of the Koran were declared by Mahomed to have been composed by no one except God. It is emphatically declared throughout the Koran, that that book is a revelation from God; that Mahomed is the Apostle of God, and inspired to promulgate a new religion; that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God: and it is assumed in the Koran that Mahomed is equal with, or superior to, Moses, the Prophets, and Jesus Christ. Mahomed promulgated his religion in direct antagonism to the divinity claimed for Christianity; he denied that Jesus was the Christ, and said that he was only a servant appointed for an example unto the children of Israel. Mahomedans are prohibited from making Jews or Christians their friends, but are commanded to put them to death. This law of the Koran of inflicting death on Christians as such, and on Mahomedans who turned Christians, was objected to by England and France, and an enactment was obtained from the Sultan to protect all Christians under his dominion, and to place them on terms of equality—as witnesses in courts of law, payers of taxes, and bearers of arms,—with Mahomedan subjects. This law of protection of Christians is becoming a dead letter through many parts of the Turkish territories, and it is at this point that the whole policy of Christian nations must turn.

Ever since the cessation of the war with Russia, and the restoration to Turkey of independence, the fanaticism of the Mahomedans against Christians has been exhibited in murders and massacres in various parts of Asia and Arabia. Hitherto the British consulates with the flag overhead have afforded shelter to Christians, but if quick and sharp justice be not measured out at Jeddah, British protection will soon become a name only, and a delusion. Let us never forget the origin of the religion of Mahomed, and its hereditary customs and traditions in stern opposition to Christianity. Great Britain, a Christian nation, treats with that impostor through his living representative, in the person of Abdul Medjid, who reigns by

guarantees his power, and acknowledges his equality as a Sovereign, and recognizes his pretensions by sending and receiving ambassadors.

At Jeddah on the 15th June, 1858, an outrage was committed on the British name in the murder of the consul, and in the insult to the British standard or flag. The British people have been pleased to allow the sign of the cross to be formed on their national ensign, and they must therefore feel the more acutely this insult to their faith by the supporters of the crescent of Mahomed. There is at present something striking in the events that are passing in Asia. It was an insult by the Chinese authorities at Canton to the British flag, which Lord Palmerston declared as the immediate cause of the disastrous war that is now going on against China.

In this business at Jeddah, France is as much concerned as Great Britain, and as the Emperor of the French is our ally, we shall have to consult him in the measures to be taken to punish the murderers of our countrymen. Egypt must be crossed from Alexandria to Suez, and Egypt, in any matter of peace or war, is most delicate ground, where mutual British and French interests come in contact or in collision. But it is of no use to shut our eyes or withhold our pens from this subject, and we may look the danger fairly in the face, and calculate the consequences from present circumstances. There are cycles in the affairs of nations as there are in the progress of the astral bodies round the sun. The first of August is the anniversary of the battle of the Nile, and those whose memories or traditions go back to the closing years of the last century, will recollect the fearful crisis in which England was then placed. Incapacity and mismanagement exposed the country to extreme danger. A threatened invasion from France sunk credit to the lowest ebb, by the withdrawal of money from the bank, and by the substitution of a paper currency.

The mutinies in the fleets at the Nore and Portsmouth struck terror into the minds of the people, and it was only by the most extraordinary exertions of the ablest and bravest of our naval

This took place in 1797, and in the following year Napoleon Bonaparte embarked in the grand expedition against Egypt, and this removed the danger of invasion of this country.

The battle of the Nile was fought by the sailors who had risen in mutiny the year before, and they now regained their character by the heroic exploit.

In 1840 this country was on the point of a war with France respecting the independence of Egypt of the government of Constantinople.

In 1858 there exists an antagonism of opinion on the subject of the canal from the Mediterranean to Suez, and there is a collision of interests between the railway now nearly completed from Alexandria to Suez, and the projected canal. It appears to be a gratuitous pretension for the British government to express a decided opinion against an enterprise which promises to be for the good of the world, in the facility of communication between the inland European Sea and the Red Sea. Then there is the question of the occupation of the island of Perim by this country. There is also the bad feeling and excited temper of the authorities and population of Egypt, against the transit of English people and troops from Alexandria to Suez. An attempt has been made to break the articles of a treaty formed some years ago, for the freedom of British subjects from police interference, and domiciliary visits except through the intervention of the British consuls.

The mutiny and insurrection against the British authority in India are giving a vastly increased interest to the transit through Egypt, and with reference to the connection between this country and India and China, there can be no doubt of the desirableness and even necessity of this country having the control of the passage across Egypt to the Red Sea.

The inquiry must now be made as to the views and intentions of the Emperor of the French respecting the occupation of Egypt, and the command of the Red Sea. We are now confronted with him in circumstances of so much inequality, by his possession of the naval and military resources of Cherbourg, Brest, Toulon, and Algiers, that we are really at his will and mercy.

should he resolve on some stroke of state of a decisive character. Ship to ship, and gun to gun, his navy now about equals ours, and he has upwards of 500,000 soldiers under perfect discipline and equipment. He could concentrate 100,000 to 200,000 of these troops on almost any point that his policy might require, and with 50,000 men suddenly conveyed to Egypt, he could at one blow cut the cable that moors India to Great Britain. These views are here given as among the contingencies of the immediate future, and it would be unmanly to avert the eye from the danger that now surrounds us.

It is of no use to speculate on these matters, and the wisest course is to adopt some policy or measure of defence.

APPENDIX B.

REFLECTIONS ON AN ENLARGEMENT OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE AS A MEASURE OF NATIONAL DEFENSIVE RESOURCE IN THE EVENT OF WAR.

THE vast armaments which are now prepared by the great nations of Europe, indicate war. The eyes of the world are at present fixed on the fortifications of Cherbourg, and on the fleets and armies now assembled at that stronghold. The increase in the number of ships, and the augmentation of the strength of the Russian fleet at Cronstadt are not without signification. The projected fortification of Antwerp on a scale of magnitude and strength to form a base of operations for a defensive war, or as the last citadel of Belgian independence foreshadows events. Plans of coast fortifications, and of manning of the fleet, have been called for by the British Parliament, and a committee has

Long before war actually breaks out between two or more nations, public opinion musters its forces, and the press in hostile collision carries on operations in the form of angry charges, and recriminations, and insulting language. The addresses of the commanding officers of the French regiments, on the dastardly attempt on the life of the Emperor in January 1858, speak the sentiments of the legions of France, and a spirit is now roused among them which it is feared will be impossible to be subdued, even though desired by the French chief. The immense military and naval parade at the Atlantic ports of France, may be probably only the display of vanity in the possession of such a power: or it may be the pride that precedes a fall and a reverse. The history of France during the last seventy years has presented a series of remarkable melo-dramatic episodes, many of which of a fearfully tragic character, and the world must wait in patient preparedness for the next exhibition on the theatre of Europe.

The common opinion is, that the demonstration at Cherbourg and Brest is designed as an insult and menace to Great Britain, or it may be only a muster in return for the great review of the British fleet at Portsmouth, on the 23rd of April, 1856. But there is this difference between the two displays of naval forces. The British muster of about 300 vessels of war, small and great, took place after the solemn proclamation of peace in the early part of that month, and appeared to be the technical inspection of the ships before dismantling them, and putting them in ordinary; but the French display is made during the period of peace, and partly with new vessels built to increase the effect of the demonstration.*

Taking every thing into consideration, and weighing motives for this active preparation by the Emperor of the French, the English people are warranted in the assumption of the probability of the active employment of a portion of the vast naval and military forces. The power wielded by Louis Napoleon is at present very great, and he is really the arbiter of Europe, and is able to control any country against which his policy may decide him to act. He has under his command the finest and most efficient army in Europe, and he has been straining his

efforts to increase the number of his ships of war, and to perfect their strength. He has at his disposal the resources of all France, and as far as appearances go, the entire population support him, and enthusiastically approve of his military and naval policy. There is at this time, probably, no other sovereign in the world who possesses a greater and more concentrated despotic power than the Emperor of the French. Next to him will rank the Emperor of all the Russias, and Cronstadt, with its fleets, arsenals, and military forces, ready to move, will stand muster with Cherbourg.

Compared with the military power of those two potentates, how weak and insignificant appears the Queen of the British Islands! Recruiting men for the most urgent demands of defence of the British power in India goes on slowly; and with a reduction of the standard for the human figure, men do not enlist in large numbers.

Any war in which this country may be involved, will be a great and universal one, and the freedom and independence of the nation may have to be fought for, and established against a combination of despotic military governments. A combined attack by France and Russia would, for a time, try the strength of nerve and tenacity of endurance of the British people. In the anticipation of such a conflict, it would be treason in the British rulers to neglect any measure of safety and defence. The sinews of war in the shape of money, and the materials of war in the substance of ships, guns, and all sorts of weapons of destruction, would be provided in abundance. But the tremendous power of Louis Napoleon, and the increasing power of the Emperor of Russia, have their basis on something yet more durable than cannons and deadly weapons. These despotic military sovereigns have discovered the secret of the real power and strength of a nation as resting on the stamina of the male population, and on the intelligent opinions of the wives and mothers of the people. The Emperor of Russia is showing himself an enlightened monarch, though for the time ruling with the sword, by emancipating the serfs, and raising them to the rank and condition of free men. Russia will now raise herself from the

dust, and assume a position which will enable her to wield a greater power than she ever did, under the most famous and martial of her former monarchs.

Louis Napoleon, with an enlightened appreciation of the stability and influence of popular power and opinion, had the sagacity to appeal to the entire French people, and take their suffrages on the great question of his own election to be their ruler, and afterwards their Emperor. He was raised to the throne by this universal votation of the French people, and, according to the theory of the British constitution, he holds his sceptre by virtue of popular law, on the same principle that Queen Victoria occupies the throne of the British nation. Seven millions of adult men registered their votes for his elevation to the imperial seat, and these are the sources of his power and greatness; and should the people of France impel him to an aggressive war against this country, fearful will be the odds in favour of France in the present circumstances of political inequality of the British people. We now come to the pith of our subject, and compare the concentrated popular power of the French nation with the weak, disjointed, and fractional force of one million of electors here, against seven millions in France. It would be a betraying of the people of this country to lead them into a war with a nation so fortified as the French with electoral power so overwhelming. Great Britain and Ireland could turn out their seven millions of electors, as fond of their country, and as ready to defend it, and as enlightened on the subjects of its interests and institutions, as the French can be in respect to their country's.

This is a view of matters, which, perhaps, may appear novel, but it is, nevertheless, the true view to be taken of the relative condition of the two people.

The question of a reform of parliamentary representation is one of the great questions of the day. It was promised in the Queen's speech in February last, and the several political parties are committed to it.

The prospect of war, or of any other calamity to the nation, instead of being a plea for retarding the enfranchisement of great

masses of men, ought rather to stimulate the legislature to a decision on the important question—on the plain and intelligible principle of increasing the number of defenders and supporters, who should thus acquire a deeper interest in the peace of the country, and the stability of its institutions.

The mere increase of electors, without a mathematical proportion of parliamentary votes to population and property, would be a nullity as concerned the real representation of the people and their wealth. This is most strikingly illustrated by the misrepresentation of our great cities, as appears from the following analysis. The metropolitan boroughs have a population of about 2,200,000 souls, out of whom there are about 123,000 electors who have their votes, and there are 18 members sent to the House of Commons. Against these there are nine comparatively insignificant boroughs, with a population of about 58,000 and 2,907 electors, sending to parliament the same number of votes with London and its boroughs—that is to say, 18 against 18 votes. Liverpool and Manchester, with a population of about 700,000, electors 35,921, members four, are neutralized by Ludlow and Lymington, with 10,650 population, 788 electors, and four votes. Edinburgh and Glasgow have between them about 500,000 population, 21,700 electors, and four members, while four country towns with 94,000 population, 3,000 electors, and four members, possess the same electoral power. Dublin, with population 254,800, electors 10,170, members two, is set against Limerick with only 52,200 population, 1,920 electors, and two members.

The inequality that exists in the parliamentary votes, compared with the intelligence, wealth, and numbers of the population, as shown by the statistics, lets us into the secret of the overwhelming influence of the ruling aristocratic party. Those statistical facts are the keys to unlock the most secret springs of that irresponsible power in this country, which in peace neglects its true interests, and in war leads it into the most imminent danger, expense, and disgrace, by incompetent management.

An opinion generally prevails, that the more extensive the

franchise, the nearer a people approach a system of levelling and democracy. This appears to be taken for granted by a certain class of political reasoners, but there is manifestly a mistake in this opinion, and it will not be borne out by history. For the sake of argument, let us suppose such an extension of the elective vote to be established as to amount to what is commonly called **UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE**. The action of this among a people would be the expression of their traditional opinions, and the exponent of their habits of thought and social feelings.

Men could not vote otherwise than their knowledge and civilization would carry them. Were the inhabitants of Turkey, Russia, Austria, or Spain, all at once invested with the political power of the elective franchise, could we doubt the nature of the government which would be instituted in each country? Four forms of despotism would issue from the votes of the people, and imperial and priestly power would dominate over each. Universal suffrage among the various states of Germany would produce extraordinary mixed governments, wherein freedom and absoluteness, the printing press and the bayonet, would be in strange and unnatural conjunction.

Whatever form of government might result, and however mixed the elements of its composition, we might depend upon this—that for the time being the government would embody and exercise the greatest possible amount of the strength and power of the whole people. In remarkable contrast and comparison would stand the governments of Russia and the United States, each with the element of slavery incorporated in their systems.

The issue of the system of universal suffrage in France is in accurate accordance with the feelings, social arrangements, habits of thought, and traditional opinions of the French people. They have been for generations and ages a warlike people, are ambitious of military renown, and they delight in war. It matters not in this case that the military system is one of conscription or force, for were it contrary to the tastes and habits of the people it would not exist. The concentrated military force of France, under the Emperor Napoleon, is the product of the universal

suffrage of its male population. Before the revolution of the 24th February, 1848, the number of electors was only 172,747. Can we, therefore, wonder that Louis Philippe, *alias* John Smith, was succeeded by Louis Napoleon, backed by 7,000,000 of adult men !

The issue of a system of the widest extended suffrage in this country would be the reverse of a military despotism ; but it would be in harmony with the opinions, feelings, and traditions of the people, and would be in the spirit of the laws, institutions, and hereditary customs which have ruled for centuries. The product of the system would be the representative of past and existing forms of government and legislation ; and as it would combine and represent the opinions of all the male inhabitants, there would be a breadth, a depth, and a solidity to the power of the nation which would repel every assault, and throw back destruction on the assailant. Under the existing system, there are about one million of male adults enfranchised against about six millions who are unenfranchised.

The question may be reduced to an arithmetical formula from the statistics of the population. London and its boroughs, in proportion, ought to have about 80 votes, instead of 18 votes ; but as the numbers now stand, what could they do in divided counsels for the defence of the city, against a foreign enemy ? The town and city militia, in case of invasion, could more easily be brought into concentrated action, than the militia from distant country localities. London and its boroughs could muster half a million of full grown men ; but a fourth of that number only is enfranchised for the vote.

This nation, with its people of peculiar tastes and industrial habits, never can be a military nation like France and other Continental countries ; and it is only from the ballot boxes of the militia in the event of invasion, or other extraordinary danger, that a million of soldiers could muster under arms, ready to meet a foreign army.

The navy must be manned by the same impartial process, by drawing from the lists and registers of mercantile sailors

The present position of affairs abroad, with the rebellion in India threatening to become more extended and confirmed, gives to the question of the enfranchisement of millions a striking and almost a solemn importance. The safety of the commonwealth is the supreme law of necessity. The liberty and independence of this nation may be exposed to extreme peril, if left to the defence of an aristocratic family administration. The late Russian war,—the mismanagement of the army in all its departments, while in front of the enemy,—the fearful mortality among our troops,—the enormous taxation for the expenses of the war,—the dismantling of the navy, and the paying off of crews at improper times,—are facts which have alarmed the country. And when to this maladministration of the business of the nation are added the effects of factious parliamentary quarrels, every person must perceive that a thorough change of system is required. An aristocratic system of rule may answer in times of routine and peace, but all history tells the tale, that mere family hereditary rule by one man fails in a time of danger and war. Aristocracy may grace a court, and add splendour to a national pageant on some great occasion of public parade, but the pride and vanity which it fosters interfere with the hard and rough business of government and war. Aristocracy has been described as the Corinthian capital of the state edifice, and perhaps this description of its nature and appearance may be true; but if this ornament be removed, the foundation, the pedestal, and column, still remain, and the building stands firm as ever.

The question of the elective franchise has been treated here on the broadest and deepest principles of nationality, and not on the narrow basis of local political party. The question has been argued on the assumption that the full and legitimate power of a nation can only be developed and raised to its greatest extent, by giving social, political, and religious freedom to its people; and that, in any great war, this nation would be exposed to greater peril, were it to encounter an enemy fortified by the most enlarged enfranchisement, while it was, in its own institutions placed on unequal and inferior terms.

The best and cheapest safeguard against any coalition of despotic governments to invade British freedom and independence, would be the immediate enfranchisement of many millions not at present in possession of their votes, and confer on them the honour to be enrolled as the defenders of the laws and institutions of their country ; and let it go forth to the world, with no uncertain sound, that we desire peace with all nations and peoples, and would have all to be free and prosperous ; but in making this declaration, let us also add, that we will allow no interference with our laws and customs by any foreign power, however formidable it may be.

Works by J. J. Macintyre.



THE INFLUENCE OF ARISTOCRACIES ON
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1843.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE: AS IT IS,
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&c. &c. &c.